1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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604 428 brothers and to his sisters' children. That is how we live here in the bush. That is how we do."

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591 When a man marries, he either arranges to take his wife to live in his own village—his mother's village—or to stay in that of his wife. Whether he chooses the one village or the other, he has to build a house there for her, and this becomes her *wosu*, her household. If he wishes, he may build two houses, one in his own village, and one in the village of his wife. Kasanya's younger brother built two houses for his first wife. One was on the lower river, next to Kasanya's own house, and the other we would reach after two days' further travel up the river.

Yet the man, explained Kasanya, if the couple were living in the village of the wife, or the woman, if their house was in his village, was not entirely at home. In one's own village a person was a *gomi*, a child of the "ground." He belonged there. But when living in another's village, even though it was that of a husband or wife, one was a [609] *wakama'*, a stranger, and if a man of the village but uttered this word "wakama'" to such an individual, the outsider had to take up his belongings and leave at once. Were the [688] stranger, in turn, to speak aloud the word "gomi," disaster would follow, for the earth spirits, having been disturbed, would be sure to take their toll.

594 The *wosu*—the household—is the unit of family life, whether, in its physical location, it is in one village or two villages. In it a woman lives with her husband, and here the 596 children are reared. After the wosu comes the larger family unit, the *mbe*, composed of those who have come from the [614] common womb of a more remote ancestress, while several of these larger or extended families form a clan.

"If a man has more than one wife," said Kasanya, "then 595 he makes more than one house. A man never puts two wives in the same house. It would not be good. Each woman has her own house, where she lives with her children. It must be so. The children of the first wife belong to her

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would be more serious yet, an evil spirit who would be lying in wait for a soul to use as emissary in his affairs of black magic, would snatch at the soul and take it away. If this happened, a person would sicken, languish, and die. Sometimes when a man tripped on the clayey bank, we heard him exclaim, "*Ago!*—Ancestors!" calling on these to protect him until he recovered his balance. But often we heard different cries. "Mi, Awana!" one man had called. "Mi, Nyamfai!" or, "Mi, Matchau!" or "Mi, Popoto!" These are all clan names, and for a time we assumed that instead of appealing to their ancestors, they called on the entire clan to come to their aid. But one day Sedefo lost his footing, and we heard him exclaim, "Mi, Fandaki!" Now we knew that Sedefo belonged to the clan of the Gankwe people, and we knew, further, that he was most emphatically not of the Fandaki clan.

"Sedefo, you are not a Fandaki. Why did you call on them?"

"My father belongs to the Fandaki. When we slip we call on our father's lo."

"Why, Sedefo?"

"I do not know. . . . "

Another day we were sitting and talking to a young man in an upper river village. A girl came and sat with us. "This is my sister," the man said. It was at a time when we were looking into these matters, and we asked, "Did the same mother make you both?"

"No," he answered, "she is here only on a visit. She lives across the river. Her father is my mother's brother."

"But she is not your sister, then," we said. "She does not even belong to your clan."

"Massa Neng'e! But she is my sister!" the man protested. "She is neither of my family, nor of my clan. But did not my mother's brother make her?"

"Could you marry her?"

He considered for a moment. "It would be possible. But it would not be good. . . . And the old women in the village would talk too much."

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698 "Yes," the man went on, "and there was much trouble." The men who had been punished incited their entire clan to come to their aid in an attack on the clan villages of those who had chastized them. "But now they are at peace." Those who were beaten were of his own clan, he said.

"And did you win your fight? What happened after that?"

"I did not go with the men. The land where the trees stood belonged to my father's clan, and my father's people I would not fight."

"What did you do?"

"I tried to make peace between them. That is what a man does when his father's clan and his mother's clan have trouble. But I was too young to speak in the big krutu—the assembly of the chiefs—so it was the elders of the Nyamfai people who brought them together, and settled the matter."

There was a point which we wanted cleared up. What was the attitude of the group toward a man who did not enter into a fight which concerned his own clan?

"Did no one say you ought to fight, too?" we asked, explaining our question to the man several times.

"No, why should they? A man can't fight against his father's people. Everybody knows that."

"But what if you did?"

"The gods would turn against my side."

After our return down river, when we again sat in the hut of the headman of the Gankwe clan, we turned to him with some questions about the family, and he gave us the following summary.

593 "From our mother we get our *lo*, our clan, and our *mbe*,
● [614] our great family. Our mother's brothers are those we must
424 obey. They correct us when we do wrong. They tell us what
604 is good. In our mother's village is our true home, and from there we are buried when we die. But our father is our friend. He gives us his advice. From him we get many of the gods we dance to when we are men, and from him we

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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where, in the proper season, maripa nuts and rice were dried.

One quarter differed very little from another, except that in one there might grow the plant which yielded the red and black beans used for the sacred rattles, and for playing the game of adji, which entertained the spirit of the dead while the body lay in state. Instead of a house to the family gods, there might be found a mound of earth in front of one doorway, with an axe-head lying upon it as a shrine for a man's spirit, or a low forked stick sunk into the ground, holding a pot with water and weeds in it for the curing powers of its obia.

A village of any size had also a quarter in which stood the communal buildings. The council house which might also serve on occasion as the house for the dead was there. The menstrual house for the women, a small building which was recognized by a broken calabash, or a porcelain pot brought from the white man's city, lying outside the entrance, stood a little to the side. The Kromanti house, and perhaps an enclosed shelter for the bush gods who shared the shrine with the snake deities, was also located somewhere near the open communal shrine. A village wherein lived the clan head contained in addition a house for the ancestral spirits of the clan. This was called a *Fa'aka-pau wosu*, literally a flagpole house, a euphemism for the shrine to the ancestors for whom white cotton was put up on sticks. In this Fa'aka-pau wosu prayers were offered up for all the important ventures of the clan, and in time of stress a priest would come there with sacrifices, to bid one of the ancestors to enter his body and give him sight. When seizure came on, such a priest prophesied. Sometimes the ancestors were consulted in the same manner as that in which the will of the dead was ascertained. Men would take up a sacred plank and carry it in a state of possession; the elders would put questions to the ancestor who had been called. The answers were construed as favorable or unfavorable according to the way the plank tipped.

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Now it was the Granman's turn to supply the interpolations, while Kasanya and Bibifo reported.

"Yes, so it is. So I know it to be myself. So I have heard," he spoke when they paused.

But when the ceremonial greetings were over, and the conversation turned to down-river affairs, the Granman leaned forward in his chair and talked with the men informally. They were all clan members, or men belonging to clans whose allegiance to the Granman's rule was undoubted, and they talked over many things in the way men do when they meet with their own kind.

The room was growing darker. Yankuso called through the slatted wall against which he was leaning, and the young man who had fired the guns entered.

"Bassia, it is getting late. We must leave this house to the white man. These men with me are my friends. They must drink before they leave."

The bassia took the decanter from the table, and from the shelf underneath it, where we could dimly see shells and containers of shot, he took several small glasses. Before taking the glass to his lips, each man poured some of the liquor on the ground as a libation to the Earth Mother, and, as each drank, he turned to Yankuso and asked if he might leave.

"*Mi da permissi*—I grant you permission," he said to each.

When we had finished our meal, it was already dark. At the door of his own house, Granman Yankuso was sitting on a low stool.

"I have something for you," he said, disappearing inside his house. When he came out, he held in his hand some black object, which we were unable to identify. "You have fire?" he asked, as he suspended this object from a tree which grew between his house and the one in which we were staying.

"There was a white Hollander here who brought this to me. He went from here farther into the bush. He never came out. Light is a good thing at night. When visitors

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over whom it was exercised. When the ancestors of the Bush Negroes were brought to New World slavery, what measure of acquiescence they showed was due to the fact that slavery was not an unfamiliar tradition to them. They knew of the war captive, or the man convicted of a serious crime, who was a slave to one of their own kind. But the experience of the white man's slavery was a crucible in which the ownership of man by man, and the unquestioning obedience which men owed to those of higher rank, were destroyed, leaving only the ideal of the life of free men. "Free!" was the way in which one Bush Negro toasted another, or a white man, when he drank with him. A "*Man Nengere*," an adult Negro was, above all, a free man, and it was as a freeman that he was governed, for though villages had chiefs, and there were bassias who were subordinate to chiefs, and though above the village chiefs were clan chiefs, and over them all the Granman, yet the final word rested with the members of each subsidiary body, and not with its leader.

Every village had its officials, and its medium for discussions. Every clan had its head, and its old men, who, sounding out the will of the clan members, consulted with that head when questions were to be decided. For the decisions affecting the entire Saramacca River, there were the Granman and his krutu, before whom questions of larger policy or disputes between villages were brought.

Perhaps most impressive of all was the measure of autonomy which each village had. A village, or certainly a group of neighboring villages belonging to the same clan, formed a small kingdom. A Bush Negro of another village who came to visit, came as any stranger, paddle in hand, his top cloth covering his loin cloth. When he found himself in a strange village on a night when a dance was being given, he did not join the dancers until after much urging by a native of that village, and then he danced little, and if he were a particularly fine dancer, he took care not to flaunt his superior gifts. The exception to this, to be sure, were the sacred dances, when a stranger, whose god came

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to him when the drums called that god, could not be held accountable for what he did while his god had him in his control.

No stranger, no man who came to live in his wife's village, even though he had spent a good part of his life there, took it upon himself to offer advice to his wife's family. Again and again we would hear from men and women on the river, "In our village we do it this way," or, "We only carry the corpse on the head twice. Our spirits don't like to be troubled more often," or, "Mawu as a name for the Great God is used in our village, but not everywhere on the river."

There was the experience with several sacred images of village gods we had bought from an upper-river village. Our paddlers refused to carry them for us from the village to the boats, and it was with marked uneasiness that they permitted us to put them into the boats.

"We do not know what these gods can do. We do not know what is hateful to them. They are the gods of another people. We won't carry them."

But with the *gomi*—the child of the village of his mother's family, it was quite otherwise. He was a member of the village, he had a voice in its governing, he knew its gods. If he belonged to the family of the chief of the clan, if, let us say, his older brother were the chief, or if he was one of several nephews of a chief who had no surviving brothers, then at the death of the chief there would be a krutu, and the men of the village would decide which one of the several men who were eligible for the office was the most capable. Though rank was hereditary there was always selection among several heirs, and again the final word rested with the people of the clan. The offices of lesser chiefs—village chiefs who were subject to the clan chief, or bassias who served the chiefs—were passed on in the same manner.

While law making was in the hands of the chiefs, or captains, and the krutu over which they presided, law enforcement was the task of the bassias. It was they who saw to it that the orders of the chiefs were carried out. When

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"*We go asei*," we would be told when the question arose how far we would travel on any given day, or when we urged a reluctant man to sell a ceremonial bench with which he was loath to part. When the answer came back, it came as a unanimous decision of those most concerned. The members of his family had talked over their need for money and weighed that against his personal love for the object he had carved, and most often the decision was against his disposing of it. He cared for it, that meant it pleased his ak'a, his soul, and of what worth was money when it was a question of displeasing his soul, which might begin to trouble him?

"Bak'a, if we cut off our heads and sell them, then if we buy hats, where will we put them?"

So it was in krutu. The lanti, the people, discussed what the bassia had said, as they went apart in small groups. From time to time, a bassia would be called to join one group and then another. What did the chief have in mind when he said this, or that? What did the old men think the consequence would be of the action under discussion? Was it desirable for the village to take a slight, and do nothing at this time? Was it necessary to arrange a compromise, instead of taking the matter into their own hands and beating the members of the offending clan?

After this discussion, each group came back to the assembly united in its stand. If all the groups were agreed, the matter was ended, and the wisdom of the chief and his councilors prevailed. If all disagreed, then it would have been temerity indeed for a chief to attempt to impose his will against the massed dissent. But if there was a lack of agreement, then the long debates would commence. Man after man would summon all his oratory to the argument, and for hours the various factions would speak. In the end, the will of the group would be swayed one way or the other, and a decision reached.

But this was only the procedure in the lowest assembly—that of the village. As men grew older and their sons and

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their nephews took up the dancing for the gods, their interests were directed more and more toward the clan rule.

"I do not dance any more," Sedefo had told us, "My sons dance Kromanti now. I must do now what is expected of a man of my years. I must see that our people act wisely in all things which touch this world, and the world of our ancestors."

A clan krutu was a self-sufficient unit made up of members whose maturity fitted them for looking after the worldly and supernatural welfare of their people, for in the larger organization of the tribe it was the clans who stood one with another in perfect equality to complete the whole—the Saramacca people.

The chieftain of the principal village of the clan was the clan head. In him was vested the right to speak for the large grouping, and in the krutu which he conducted the etiquette approached that of the tribal krutu in its intricacy. The village where the clan head lived was inhabited predominantly by his people. In other villages on the river his people might be one of several clan groups. Several villages were inhabited by three or even four clan groups, each of which had its own captain. But such villages were not the seats of clan heads. Where a clan chief ruled would be not only the clan krutu house, but the shrines raised to the important dead of the clan, the clan ancestors whose spiritual powers to help and advise the living were as great as the feats they had accomplished when alive. Here, too, at the village where the clan head lived would be the shrines to the gods who had the clan under their special protection. Above all, here under the direction of the chief were not only those who guided the worldly destinies of the clan, but those who knew how to control the supernatural forces. Here were the obias owned by the clan, those spiritual and unique healing powers whose magic would respond only to the will of clan members who had undergone the training which taught them to operate those forces their ancestors had left for them.

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Saramacca

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"I have my obia from Lamé," Bayo had said. "People like me because of this obia."

When we came to Lamé we found that the people who inhabited it controlled more than the love obia. They had a powerful fighting obia, too. There was not only *bumba*, that gave power in love, but also *poitchi*, the obia that helped a man in a fight. But one who wanted to become a great hunter did not go to Lamé. Such a person sought out an obia man of the Dombi clan, who, working with the power of *mafungi*, helped him to see his game in the dark bush, though the animal was of the color of the bush itself, and, once having tracked it, helped him make his aim deadly. A man suffering from a bad gunshot wound would try to get an obia man from the Loango people to come and call on the powers of the Loango clan-obia to heal the dying man. For broken bones there was magic in the sacred village of Dahomey where centered the Kasito clan, and at Dahomey was also the best magic on the river for warriors. *'Bofyuando* and *sokoma'usu* were the two great warrior obias, and so powerful were they that if one but whispered their names, without taking the stems of two weeds, putting one crosswise on top of the other, and over them passing a coin to recompense for speaking the sacred names, the man who spoke would die. These obias belonged to the Kasito people, so strong in magic.

Of these clans there might be twelve or thirteen or fourteen. Among the Saramacca people, we learned, the clan partakes of the mysterious, the awesome. Our Bush Negro friends did not discuss their clans readily, and none of them would give us a list of their names. A few might be mentioned by one man, a few by another.

"To speak of the *lo* is not a thing for strangers," we were told. "My clan I can name, and another man can tell you the name of his clan. My father's clan I can name, too, but not others."

On one occasion we had made clear to a young man who had been away for some time in French Guiana, and who considered himself a man of the world, why we sought the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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614 clan names. He went to his mother's brother, and asked for the origin of his own clan, and the relationship that existed between the lo to which he belonged and the others.

"It is for the old men to know," his uncle replied. "When you are old, you will know these things."

"But you must tell me. It is my right," the young man insisted.

"It will be your right," the older man corrected him.

And there the matter rested. But from one, and from another, we gathered the clan names. One village belonged to one clan, its obia was confided to us, and at another village we learned the name of still another clan. So the list of names slowly grew—ten, twelve, thirteen, fourteen. But some clans were paired in a fashion we could not fathom, and when the clans are grouped so as to express the tribe as a whole, the expression that is used is that of "the twelve lo."

614 423 The clan we found to be rooted deep in the land. Each clan had its own territory, and in the region it controlled only the men of the clan might fish in the creeks or fell the hardwood trees which the white man in the city bought. All of the up-river clans had land on the lower river near the railhead, and an important down-river clan, like that of the Gankwe people, had land deep in the interior. Whether fear of invasion, on the one hand, or the need to have their own strongholds in the event of factional disputes, on the other, dictated this division of the land, it was, of course, impossible to determine. Yet it was unquestionably useful for a clan to have representation up and down the river in this fashion. Thus a man, as he traveled up or down the river, would be sure of at least one or two places where he might count on receiving the welcome due him as one who is at home among those who have come from the same "old mother," and where he might feel spiritually safe among people of his own blood, and among the same gods as those of his own village.

631 619 Village, clan, and above these the tribe. So it was that the political order of the Bush Negro was integrated. Tribal

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

There are also a few villages, belonging to this tribe, situated on the lower Saramacca River, like Santi Gron, Toti Camp, and Maka-Creekee. On the distant Surinam is located the poetically named village of Futu No Habbe Ackaba, The Foot That Has No Resting Place.

Every tribe is divided into several clans, or *lo*, and these lo are subdivided into groups of families, called *m'beh*, relationship being counted through the female line. These groupings are direct survivals of the slave days, descendants of groups of fugitives who fled into the bush together. Among the Saramaccaners there is the *Abaisa lo* of which our friend Abaisa is the chief. Another lo is called the *Inge Peecee lo*, meaning "piece of Indian clan," referring to the marriage of a lone Indian squaw with a rebel slave, back in the old days. There is the *Companyi Nengre lo*, or "Company Negro clan" of blacks descended from the slaves who escaped from the Dutch West India Company. The *Dahomey lo* is a group of families especially skilled in the art of healing broken bones. Then there is a priesthood clan, the *Domini lo*, descended from the slaves of a plantation owner named Levy. Among the other lo are: *Matchow* (meaning axe), *Vondrake* (from a Dutch family named Van Drachte), *Baison Nengre, Luwangu, Nassi, Betu, Cumu, Quama, Papoto,* and the *Awahna lo* at Gansee.

At a strategic location on the Little Surinam River, the *Pekein Rio,* dwells the Granman Jankoeso. His village is ten days up the river from Gansee. It is situated in this inaccessible spot, on an especially fierce and rapid tributary, pur-

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

after a day's portage from its source one may strike the Tosso Creek, which brings the lower Sara Creek Aucaners into the distant Tapanahoni River, where exist the main body of the Aucaner tribe. They inhabit both banks of the Tapanahoni, from its mouth where it flows into the Marowyne River to some distance beyond the far Jai Creek. The Aucaners, like the Saramaccaners, are divided into several lo or clans. The names of these are as follows: the *Missi Jon lo* and *Otto lo,* which are the most powerful and to which belong the families of the Granmans; the *Perica lo, Pata lo M'beh lo, Ju Nengre lo, Penasi lo, N'Yafi lo, Bray lo, Compai lo, Deekah lo, La Paix lo, Ke-o Condree lo,* and *Pooloogoodoo lo.* The head of the lo is called *Papa fu ah lo,* "father for the lo."

Beside these, the Aucaners have also divided their tribe into two separate parts, but they are both under the same Granman. These divisions are known as the *Uppo Nengre* (Upper Negro) and *Below Nengre* (Below Negro). The boundary between them being the Gran Hollo (Big Hole) Falls in the Tapanahoni River. The territory of the Below Nengre begins past the mouth of the Gran Creek and extends up the Tapanahoni River to the falls above mentioned. The islands in the Marowyne belong to this division and their territory also extends to the Dutch side of the Lawa River up to Aboona Sungu Falls (a man named Aboona sank there), which forms the boundary between the Aucaners and the Boni tribe in that region. Some names of the villages belonging to the Below Nengre Aucaners of that dis-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

prejudices about sex and marriage may become less rooted by a comparison with the customs of a primitive society.

The Djukas, like a number of other primitive tribes, reckon descent only through the female line; property rights are transmitted through the maternal side of the house. Fatherhood is a fact of relative unimportance.

Polygamy is the practice. Each wife lives in a separate hut (often in a separate village), which belongs to her because her husband built it for her. A man has as many wives as he wants, or can keep. The wives get along together fairly amicably. The cancer of matrimonial jealousy characteristic of our own system, is of narrow range and effect among the Djukas.

The head of the family is not the father, but the mother's oldest male relative—her brother or her mother's brother. *The father is technically unrelated to his children.* As a matter of biological fact, he can never be sure of his paternity, whereas maternity is never in doubt. All children belong to their mother's family, and are subject to the authority of her brother or her maternal uncle. The latter is more closely related to them than any other male.

A group of families related through the female line constitute a *m'beh,* and several m'beh together make up a *lo,* or clan. These groups are all reckoned through the mother. Husband and wife may belong to different m'beh and lo, but children of the union belong only to their mother's group. At first sight the father seems negligible in this arrangement, but it must be remembered that he is very likely the brother

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[For additional demographic and social information, see the "Table of the Population of the Boni Villages," on pp. 479-539, category 116. Included are data on the number of children per woman, the number of deaths by age and sex, the name of the guardian (usually, but not necessarily a parent) who was responsible for raising a particular individual, personal names of the Boni, marital residence and residence changes by specific individuals, marriage practices, including polygynous unions and secondary marriages, cases of divorce, and lineage/sib affiliations of each individual.]

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[For further information concerning the lineage/sib organization and membership of the Boni, with associated data on age, sex, and ethnic affiliations, see the genealogical charts on pp. 542-575, category 116.]

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1. Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Guyane /Archives of the Ministry of Overseas France, Guiana/, A3-02.

611 /18/ Villages and Kin Groups

Among all the kinship systems which existed in the African tribes from which they issued, the Refugee Blacks came back unanimously, and from the beginning, to matrilineal filiation.

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Their social system is symbiosis, under the authority of the grand man, of a certain number of localized matrilineal kin groups.

613 Matrilineal kin groups of the Boni. With the Boni the basic grouping is the lineage, in the rigorous sense of the term, understanding by that all descendants in maternal line from a single ancestress.

To designate the kin groups the Boni employ almost interchangeably the words lo (troop, band) and bɛɛ, womb. In fact these expressions correspond to two variant interpretations of the same notion:

614 bɛɛ: matrilineage in the widest sense, understanding by that all persons knowing that they are issue of the same ancestress, even if the genealogical ties are forgotten, and even if these persons are scattered in several villages under different authorities;

lo: lineage fraction grouped in one village and constituting a distinct social unit.

The lineage bears a name whose origin is forgotten by present-day Boni; some of these names allude to a plantation or to a slave-owner, for example Lapé (La Paix: a plantation of the Cottica River); as for others, the name of the founding ancestress may be involved. Example: Kawina (name of the lineage constituting the village of Papaïston).

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Six lineages (1) of ancient founding are counted among the

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1. It seems that in the past there was a greater number of groups (they continue to use the expression twalʔfuyu lo, the 12 lo, to designate the Boni nation), but some have died out.

Boni: all, with one single exception, have remained effective groupings corresponding each one to a village; for these lineages the words bɛɛ and lo may be used indiscriminately. The seventh, Dipélu, is distributed in three villages under different authorities, that is, forms three lo.

[614] The lo possesses a head (hedeman or captain). The bɛɛ possesses neither head nor organization, but as we shall show, its members are united by religious ties and meet to celebrate common rites.

(See table on the following page.)

[643] The head of the Dikan lo is supreme chief -- grand man -- of the Boni.

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Io	Village of residence	Head in 1958
Dikan	Boniville village	Difu (grand man)
Dju	Asisi village; a small group in Boniville	Adiiso
Lapé	Loka and Lapé Tabiki villages; a small group in Boniville	Popo
Dipélu I	l'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages; a small group in Boniville	Babun (l'Enfant Perdu) Saka (Apatu)
Dipélu II	Kormotibo village; a fraction in Asisi	Poopu
Kotika (Yakubi)	Kotika village; a group in Abunasunga	Nachinengé
Papaïston (Kawina)	Papaïston village; a small group in Boniville a small group in the Lower Maroni (Wétiti village)	Tafanié

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613 571 Thus the lo appears to us above all as a social and political unit, based in principle on matrilineal relationship but easily able to welcome heterogeneous elements. It is the framework by means of which the individual is integrated into the collectivity.

614 Functions of the lineage (bɛɛ).

—Members of the same bɛɛ form a joint group from the legal point of view, even if they do not live in the same village and are under different authorities. They recognize a common legal responsibility; for example, they are obliged, at least in principle, to pay the debts contracted by one of them. Reciprocally, the inheritance of one of them is shared among them all.

614 784 --They have the same religious responsibility, that is, they are subject to the same kunu. The kunu is a curse called down upon a group by a divinity since an ancient era. It is transmitted exclusively by the mother. We shall show in the remainder of this work the considerable importance of this notion in the social life of the Refugee Blacks.

614 —They cannot (at least in principle) contract a union with one another. The bɛɛ thus constitutes in principle the unit subject to the law of exogamy.

[835] An offense against exogamy, pikadu, incest in the wide sense, is regarded as very grave.

613 Functions of the lo: The lo transposes onto the material plane the legal principles resulting from the conception of the lineage: joint rights over land, common legal responsibility. Each of them forms a social unit in principle sufficient unto itself, possessing an ancestor worship peculiar to it, a head acting the role of ancestor priest and judge, materially grouped in one village, enjoying exclusive rights over a well-defined soil.

/20 cont./

613 571 We have said that the recently founded lineages, being of only very small size, cannot constitute a distinct social unit and are placed under the authority of one of the lo heads. That is not a condition imposed by force or any moral coercion whatever, but a practical social necessity. A lineage, reduced in numbers though it may be, keeps in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks imprescriptible collective rights; and if these members agree to group in a separate village and work separate soil, nobody will stand in their way.

128 613 614 115 829 Such are the elements which stand out after a first study of the kin groups as it can be deduced from interrogating the heads of these units. It leaves unresolved some important problems:

The Boni have the idea that their kin groups are lineages in the real sense of the term. Nevertheless, questioning on genealogies does not permit all to /21/ go back to the founding ancestress. Three of them, the most important numerically, prove in this respect to be divided into several fractions. Can we be sure that these fractions are actually of the same origin and that the people concerned are not deceiving themselves in believing it? In the social structure of the Refugee Blacks are there no mechanisms leading toward assimilation, to fusion of groups of heterogeneous origin?

We cannot answer these questions directly. First of all it is indispensable to study the conception that the Boni have of kinship ties within the matrilineage. Then we shall examine the genealogical tables of the various lineages, and for those that the study of genealogies shows to be divided into several fractions, we shall study the interrelations of these fractions.

601 613 Kinship within the matrilineage: The kinship terms translate a purely classificatory system. The principle of classificatory kinship

/21 cont./

601 has been pushed by the Refugee Blacks to its extreme limit with-
613 out any attenuation. Everything turns on the number of generations separating from the founding ancestress. Age does not come into it. The fact of belonging to an older or younger branch with respect to such-and-such an ancestress does not come into it, either. The custom of the Refugee Blacks is hostile to any discrimination which could lead to a scission of the lineage.

At the same number of generations from the foundress, they call one another uniformly brother, baala, or sister, sisa, without consideration of age or degree of relationship. Absolutely no nuance exists in the language to differentiate the brother proper from the brother in the classificatory sense.

The people closest to the foundress of a generation are uniformly called uncles, tiyu, or aunts, tiya.

601 The thinking of the Refugee Blacks on the subject of kinship
602 centers above all around knowledge of those ties which can be
613 called horizontal; they consider them as ties in fact which they were taught in early childhood, and few of them worry about knowing the exact origin of them. It is enough for them to know
[814] that N... is their brother and M..., their uncle. Knowledge of the genealogies remains the province of the most wide-awake minds; the others take no heed.

602 This conception of kinship permits the maintenance of the
613 unity of a lineage even when the genealogical ties are forgotten
614 and when the group is in this respect cut into several fractions. The members of the lineage can be unaware of this fractioning, as we have observed in several cases.

[601] Thus in Figure 3 (fictitious example), Adam knows he must call Baïna brother, Afanis uncle, and Sota nephew.

[104] That is why we use the term extended lineage to translate the word bee (1).

[See category 116, P. 31--Analyst]

/21 cont./

602 613 614 191

1. This conception of kinship is also found among the Agni of the Ivory Coast and the Fon of Dahomey; it may be widespread in Black Africa, especially in populations with matrilineal filiation.

601 602 613 614 284 571

/22/ This conception, associated with that of the kunu, conflicts with the fractioning of lineages on the religious plane, even when a scission has taken place on the plane of residence. The rigor of the principle laid down, the quasi-mathematical transmission from one generation to the next of appellations based on rank relative to the foundress, prohibits the thought that elements foreign to the lineage can be integrated into this system by any process whatever. Nevertheless, a doubt remains as to the possibility of assimilating fragments with paternal kinship, for in paternal kinship the same principle of classificatory kinship rules, and the same appellations are used. We shall show that such a process of assimilation actually exists on the social plane, but that it is inconceivable on the religious plane, the kunu always being transmitted by the mother. /Fig. 3 appears here./

602 613 614

Knowledge of genealogical ties is very variable from one lineage to another. Outside of the great splits like Dipélu I-Dipélu II, we have demonstrated that small fractions of several lineages could no longer be attached to the main trunk, the genealogical ties being irremediably lost. The people concerned had never realized this; they had never wondered about it. This was the case particularly:

—With Samma's descendants (Dipélu II, Asisi);

—With the group of Atili's descendants (Lapé, Boniville).

[178]

In both cases the split was very recent; old men dead for only a few years knew the genealogical ties now lost.

/22 cont./

613 Situation of the lineages in 1958.

[643] The Dikan lineage, whose head is the grand man of the Boni, has practically died out, since it is comprised of only Grand Man Difu: upon his death it will totally disappear (1).

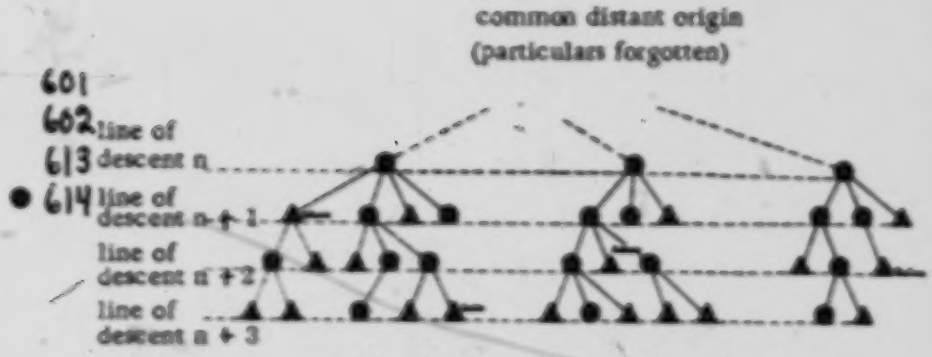

Fig. 3. Extended matrilineage.

613 184 174 1. Note that a Dikan lo exists among the Djuka: the separation of the Dikan-Djuka and the Dikan-Boni is necessarily anterior to the battles of 1793, which shows the ancientness of these groups.

621 613 571 For two generations the various lineages have delegated some of their members /23/ to the grand man to conserve a certain importance for his village. Thus Agodé (Boniville) now includes fragments of the Kotika, Dipélu, Lapé, Dju, and Papaïton lineages, forming that many individualized small quarters in the village.

/23 cont./

621 175 [66] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

613 /23 cont./
614 Not one of the members of the group could trace back to the common ancestress; yet these three fractions together behave as
601 a single lineage. All its members know their mutual appellations
784 "brother," "uncle," etc. All are subject to the same kunu.

The law of exogamy is respected within each fraction, but
613 there are seven cases of unions between members of different
614 fractions; these unions are disapproved of in principle, but they
582 are tolerated.
123

Thus, on the subject of exogamy, we see the thought of the Refugee Blacks breaks away from the rigorous principle on which their social order is based. It is the actually known genealogy which counts in their eyes on this point.

613 In December, 1958 we were able to reconstitute the com-
614 plete genealogy of the group (Fig. 4), thanks to the memories of
128 the doyenne of the group, Ma Imma, who had lived for a very
115 long time isolated in a village of the Maroni estuary. The data
601 thus reconstituted are in complete agreement with the kinship appellations among members of the various fractions. /24/
/Fig. 4 appears here./

The case of the Kotika lineage is thus particularly interesting, for we find ourselves knowing its genealogy completely when its members know it no more than partially.

613 Study of this group shows that the forgetting of kinship ties
614 has no effect on the physical grouping of the lineage and its
602 functioning as a social unit.

It has direct repercussions only on the observation of the principle of exogamy. Thus the way in which exogamy is understood and observed appears to us from now on as a secondary criterion having no certain value for the recognition of a common origin.

621 Some Djuka and Saramaka have settled among the members of the Kotika lineage, but as individuals.

621 The Lapé (La Paix) lineage, whose name alludes to one of the great plantations of the Cottica River in the 18th century, is

[See p. 34, Category 116 -- Analyst]

/24 cont./

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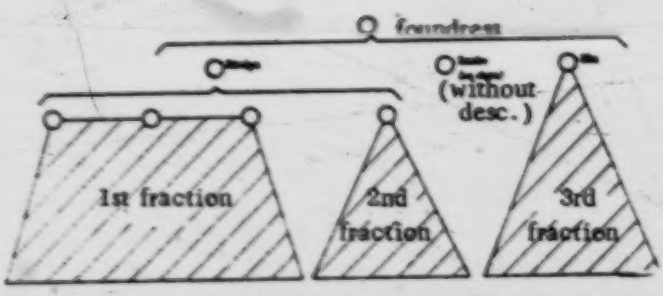

Fig. 4. Common genealogy of the three fractions of the Kotika lineage.

[62] divided between the small villages of Lapé Tabiki and Loka. It is a well-grouped lineage whose members know their genealogy perfectly as far as a common ancestress named Mata, who must have lived at the end of the 18th century; only one small group which we shall call Lapé 2 (descendants of Atili) does not know exactly the ties attaching them to the principal group. The law of exogamy is respected rigorously within this group; there is not a single case of marriage between the two fractions. The members of the two fractions consider themselves a single lineage.

[78] They have the same kunu.

[184] Note that there is a Lapé lo among the Djuka, regarded as of the same origin.

[62] No element of heterogeneous origin has settled in the villages of the Lapé lo.

613 [361] The Dju lineage, which occupies the central part of the Asisi Island, also fits the definition of kin groups among the Refugee Blacks. Its members know /25/ their entire genealogy as far back as a common ancestress named Aluku, doubtless, tracing to the middle of the 18th century.

613 Among the Dju there is no fraction separated from the principal group.

[184] There is also a Dju lo among the Djuka. The word Dju alludes to the Jews, the lineage probably having been born in the plantations belonging to the Jews of Surinam.

The law of exogamy is rigorously applied within the Dju lo.

No element of heterogeneous origin is established among the Dju.

613 614 621 The Dipélu lineage was the most important in the past; from the point of view of genealogy it is split up into three groups whose members are scattered in three villages, subject to different authorities.

Genealogy		Villages
Dipélu I		l'Enfant Perdu Apatu (founded in 1882)
Dipélu II. 1st fraction Dipélu II. 2nd fraction	very recent scission	Kormotibo some elements in Asisi.

613 —Dipélu I forms a unit remarkable for the amplitude of its genealogy, completely known, which extends over eight generations and goes back to a common ancestress named Sanyan, who must have lived in the middle of the 18th century. The common [174] origin of the two groups being necessarily anterior to this ancestress, it seems logical to make it go back to the beginning of the 18th [601] century. In spite of the remoteness in time of their common origin, the members of both groups know with precision their "horizontal" kinship ties (brother, uncle, etc.), which have lost

613 /26 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II, whose members know their genealogy badly,
571 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II, who bears the title of captain, resides
[578] at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conceptions of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
571 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[554] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[621] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the lo, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

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[164]

/26 cont./

This village had no future. its complement did nothing but melt away for half a century, especially under the influence of venereal diseases.

Neither time nor geographical separation have brought on scission on the religious or legal planes. In this respect the members of Dipélu I and Dipélu II continue to think of one another as [784] the same lineage. They remain subject to the same kunu.

6/3
6/4
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The law of exogamy continues to be applied rigorously within Dipélu I and within Dipélu II, but marriages are permitted between Dipélu I and II. There are no longer any social sanctions about this, and the common origin of the two groups is so remote that they scarcely think any more of applying to them the term [784] pikadu. But such unions remain exceptional, the people concerned continuing to fear a superhuman sanction.

[621] No element of heterogeneous origin, fragment paternally related or refugee outsiders, has settled among the Dipélu.

613
[621]

The Papaïston or Kawina lineage (Papaïston village) has remained perfectly coherent and well grouped. Its members know their genealogy as far back as an ancestress named Térésa, who must have lived at the beginning of the 18th century. But there exists a small fraction, nearly extinct, which we shall designate as Papaïston 2, which presents a separate genealogy going almost [614] as far back in time. Nobody knows the origin of this group exactly; it is regarded as connected by kinship ties to the main group, but the members of the two groups consider that they form two distinct [784] bee. They do not have the same kunu.

[582] 'Marriage is not tolerated within the principal group, but it is allowed between members of the two groups.

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[101]

Moreover, with the Papaïston lives a small group which fled from Surinam about the end of the 19th century, originally of the Bakabuchi tribe. This group has no kinship tie at all with the Papaïston but has placed itself under the authority of the head

/26 cont./

613 621 of the Papaïston lo. It is generally designated by "Toïna's family," Toïna being the doyenne of the group.

613 614 [621] The Awara Bakka lineage (Asisi village) has a more complex and particularly interesting structure. Study of its genealogy shows that it is in fact divided into three fractions which we shall call Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.1 /misprint for Aw.B.3 -- Tr./. The Aw.B.1 know /27/ their genealogy perfectly back to an ancestress named Akyé, great-great-grandmother of the centenarian Kuluba (+ 1957). Akyé must have lived toward the end of the 18th century.

613 614 571 [621] Awara Bakka 3 is a paternally related fragment which was "assimilated" to the principal group by a process of which several other examples exist among the Boni. It was founded by Anéta, a Djuka woman originally from the village of Tabiki on the Tapanaoni, wife of Pèèyon (Aw.B.1), who remained there with her numerous descendants after the death of her husband.

The members of this group, who should normally be regarded as Djuka and outsiders to the lo, end up by being engulfed in the social organization and ancestor worship of the Awara Bakka. The [601] daughters of Anéta and Pèèyon were called "sisters" by the Aw.B.1 by reason of patrilineal relationship. These appellations were [784] transposed for their descendants to the point where many ended by losing their true origin from sight; but the Aw.B.3 keep a separate religious and legal responsibility and are subject to their own kunu, that of the Djuka village of Tabiki from which came their ancestress.

613 614 784 As a matter of fact, as we shall show by studying the beliefs of the Boni, the kunu is irremediably transmitted by the mother and no process of assimilation has any effect on this. Thus the Aw.B.3 are not really part of the lineage; they are separated from it by a clear criterion, obvious in the eyes of all, impossible to disregard or forget.

/27 cont./

614 The Aw.B.2, on whom we could not get sure information
[123] because this very closed group did not cooperate willingly with the inquiry, appear to be in a very similar situation, with the difference that their genealogy goes back much farther in time and they no longer remember the origin of this fraction nor the
[184] circumstances which tied its fate to that of the Aw.B.1. This group apparently has a separate kunu.

613 614 582 The Awara Bakka lineage is in a special situation from the point of view of exogamy, for not only are there marriages be-
[183] tween one fraction and another, but there are two within the same fraction and between relatively near relatives. Thus this group, without openly rejecting the law of exogamy, does not attach the same importance to it as do the others.

613 The Afi lineage. This lineage was founded by Afi, wife of
[101] a man from Papaïston, who came to live with him. Like the Toïna lineage, she had come from the small tribe called Bakabuchi which lived in Surinam. However, the Afi and Toïna lineages are not of the same matrilineal origin and the present members of each of the two small groups have no common worship. All of
[571] them have lost every tie with their original tribe, and their social life is entirely dependent on that of the Boni group which has taken them in.

[621] Afi settled near Kormotibo. This site is abandoned by her descendants who live, most of them, in Asisi, the rest in Kormotibo.

[619] The lineage has lost every tie with its group of origin. Nevertheless, it is assumed that if one of them wanted to go back there, on proving his relationship, he would take up all his rights again and could demand a site for making his clearings.

613 621 571 /28/ The process of assimilation which took place for the AW.B.3 did not come into play for Afi's descendants with respect to the Papaïston lineage. They are regarded as a separate family group, insufficient in number to constitute a social unit and whose members are placed under the authority of the heads of the villages

/28 cont./

613 where they have chosen to live. It is possible that later, if their
621 number continues to increase, they may found a separate village
571 whose head will be recognized as captain. A new lo would thus be created.

613 Real nature of Boni matrilineal groups. Examination of the situation
614 of the various lineages leads to the following conclusions:
571 — The fact that genealogies are forgotten does not lead to any fractioning of lineages on the material or religious planes.

— The conceptions of the Boni relative to classificatory kinship, as well as their custom hostile toward any discrimination within the lineage, hinder fractioning. When a separation takes place on the plane of residence and authority, it has no repercussion on the common worship which cements the lineage together;

— The fashion in which the law of exogamy is applied does not constitute a valid criterion, the attitude of the various groups in this regard being quite variable;

— No process of assimilation permits integration into the lineage of elements of foreign origin: a process of assimilation of paternally related fragments exists. But this assimilation is not complete, it does not operate on the plane of legal and religious responsibility;

613 — Ultimately, the surest criterion of true common matrilineal
614 origin is unity of legal and religious responsibility, marked by the
784 same kunu. The kunu, transmitted irrevocably by the mother whatever may be the conditions of her marriage, weighing collectively on all the members of a lineage and capable of being warded off only by their collective prayers, is the true cement of kin groups.

[571] By its very nature, the kunu opposes any scission of groups. Neither time nor geographical separation can break it.

[621] The example of Dipélu I and II is characteristic in this regard, for its members remain rigorously subject to the same kunu

/28 cont./

613 614 784 [621] although the supposed common ancestress doubtless goes back to the beginning of the 18th century and for three generations they have been divided among four villages situated at a week's distance by boat from one another. We can, with very few chances of error, affirm that they certainly have a common matrilineal origin and that they in fact constitute one lineage.

182 619 [361] [484] On this subject let us note that geographical separation cannot play the same role among the Refugee Blacks as in the African tribes of cultivators. The Refugee Blacks, whose habitat is linear along the banks of the river and who, being boatmen, are continually moving, cannot be completely isolated from one another.

613 614 571 /29/ Under these conditions, how can we explain the existence within certain lineages of individualized fractions subject to a separate kunu, such as Papaïston 2?

One can assume that these fractions do not really have the same origin as the principal group and that they result from a process of assimilation of a paternally related fragment.

We have cited the example of Aneta's descendants (Aw. B. 3). They are already integrated into the social life of the group; in two or three generations nobody will remember any longer their exact origin. But they will remain differentiated from the principal fraction of the Awara Bakka because they will still be subject to the kunu of their ancestress. [784]

121 Such are the elements we have been able to draw from a general study of kin groups among the Boni. We shall look for other data in the study of the implantation of these groups on the soil, and especially of the apportionment of lands among them; finally, we shall study family custom and especially inheritance.

A complete understanding of the kinship system and its functioning can be obtained only in the future by following the evolution of kin groups, the formation of new villages; and the designation of new headmen.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks.
114 Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and
184 Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

194 The organization they describe can be summarized thus: '
571 Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups
621 near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west
[103] coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.
[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the
[167] government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nēnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kɔ̄pani nēnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /East India Company/. /30/

174 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee
613 Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth
614 rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, mean-
621 ing the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient im-
57 portance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in
161

/30 cont./

174 separate villages and the more important even burst out into
613 several villages whose heads were recognized as "captains" by the
grand man and then by the government. The number of Djuka
• 614 captains recognized by the government of Surinam has not stopped
621 growing; it was 28 these last few years.

571 The lo no longer represented an effective social unit, but its members kept common worships. For example, it is said that
[188] the Dju nẽnge go each year as a ritual to get earth from the Savanc des Juifs /Savanna of the Jews/ where their ancestors were slaves.

[114] This explanation seems probable. The kin-group is not the only social unit known to Africans; the bond between man and land has equal importance in their eyes; the fact that their fathers had lived together, that they had been buried in the same cemetery created a among the rebel slaves a de facto bond which was able to suffice, at the beginning of the rebellion, to found villages and a social organization.

[114] However, this theory cannot be entertained without reservations. It has not been possible to verify it by systematic studies, the Djuka and Saramaka having firmly opposed until now any ethnographic investigation involving the statement of genealogies and the inventory of the population of the villages.

[184] It contradicts what we have pointed out among the Boni. In that group six great lineages are counted, of which four (Dju, Kotika, La Paix, Dikan) have a name also alluding to the plantations from which their ancestors fled.

Nevertheless it is certainly a question of lineages in the proper meaning of the term, and nobody remembers that any other organization ever existed. Also, in the absence of systematic studies of the Djuka and Saramaka, the problem of the origin of
[184] their kin groups remains obscure. The future will permit verifying one or the other of the two hypotheses:

174 /30 cont./

613 1st. Lo = de facto grouping of rebels of any provenance,
614 which has in the long run split up into lineages but which remains
621 in the form of a common worship;

571 2nd. Lo = lineage, from the very beginning.
184

Conceptions Relative to Kinship and Marriage

769

[121] Ties between the individual and the ancestors. Before examining more deeply the social and family structure of the Refugee Blacks, it is indispensable to study what religious ties are implied between [184] the individual and the ancestors. Here one is in the presence of basic beliefs which seem identical in the various tribes of Refugee Blacks of Guiana and of which their structure is the consequence.

[171] In the civilizations of Blacks Africa it is supposed that a current of life and /31/ strength circulates from the divinity to men through the medium of the ancestors. Among the Refugee Blacks it is taken for granted that in this respect each man is bound [782] to his ancestors through the maternal line only. If he falls prey to illness, injustice, or adversity, he can call only on them in his prayer.

593 That does not mean that the tie with the father is ignored [827] or considered as having little importance; it is taken for granted, as we shall see, that in the creation of man certain psychic elements are transmitted from father to son. But the current of strength binding the individual to the ancestors does not pass through the father. One cannot pray usefully to the soul of one's dead father. [755] If I am sick and divination incriminates the action of my dead [782] father's soul, I cannot address either prayer or offering directly to him; for that I shall have recourse to one of his near relatives in the maternal line.

614 /31 cont./
769 Another very important principle in the minds of the Refugee
796 Blacks is that prayers must be collective; the principal ceremonies,
613 such as the New Year's prayer, must bring together, at least in principle, the total lineage.

These notions certainly have influenced the custom of the
182 Refugee Blacks with respect to residence and marriage. The lineage
613 cannot allow the permanent departure of a woman from her native
614 country any more than that of a man. In the populations of Black
591 Africa with matrilineal filiation, this conception is reconciled
[171] with the necessities of practical living in the following manner: the wife leaves her relatives to settle down with her husband, but when her children reach adulthood they must return there. Thus one cannot attribute to this preoccupation alone the special system of marriage among the Refugee Blacks, which does not involve the permanent cohabitation of man and wife. We shall see that this system was inspired by social and psychological necessities. But concern for the unity of the lineage, to which it corresponds perfectly, has surely contributed to make of it a rigorous principle of customary law.

601 Kinship within the matrilineage. The kinship terms translate a
613 purely classificatory system. It depends only on the number of
611 generations separating from the foundress. The sons of women descended from the foundress in uterine line are regarded as members of the matrilineage and united in the system of appellation. The children of these men are no longer part of the matrilineage.

/37 cont./

614 571 578 An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipélu II between Kormotibo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)

This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alawenchi † (E19) and ○ Bongo (E6) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agosa, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alawenchi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilè † (F35) and ○ Sésey † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alawenchi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

[621] [784] This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Kormotibo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the pitiless tie of the kunu. Nowadays, Captain Poopu's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/39/

CHAPTER III

125

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Maroni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

[126]

/56/

621
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Kormotibo and Asisi-Dipélu Villages

Dipélu II lo

[128] [361] We did not judge it useful to include the plan of the habitat of this group, consisting of two hamlets which are badly kept up and in decay.

[162] As of January 1, 1958: 62 persons, of whom 31 are children and adolescents of less than 16 years.

[591] Adult inhabitants whose residence in these villages is not normal:

△ Alémin 1880 (Afi lineage)	has always lived isolated
○ Magdaléna 1912 (Afi lineage) (raising 4 children under 16)	came to live with her husband Léon (Dip. II, † in 1954); remained there afterward.
△ Doïchiman 1934 (Afi l.)	raised by his mother Magdaléna, lives near her.
△ Dokwé 1938 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Gongolon 1937 (Afi l.) (raising a child)	idem
○ Mauda 1935 (Afi l.)	idem
○ Ninga 1899 (Papaïston 2)	separated from her group after a disagreement.
△ Bénu 1928	Ninga's son, followed his mother.

Total: 8 persons raising 4 children under 16 years.

/86 cont./

621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, [614] whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

621 /89 cont./
613 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
423 find clear boundaries.

These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
241 of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held
[562] by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
● 614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

/137 cont./

831 necessary food) than by a sentimental motive. It is very rare to meet among them the appearance of sincere and lasting love for a woman; that is sometimes seen, but it is the exception.

562 It is not enough to say that they have few emotional feelings with respect to women. In the conversations heard in the evening around the campfires a deep contempt is expressed on this subject; they even speak of the Boni women as of a foreign and almost enemy nation; they consider them besides as half irresponsible. This attitude shows through in the custom concern- [684] ing adultery, which decrees that the lover be beaten but not the wife.

581 Among the Refugee Blacks marriage is in fact a contract of maintenance between a man and woman, which provides for the execution of such-and-such work by the one for the benefit of the other, and for the wife the obligation to be faithful. [586] This contract can be cancelled unilaterally without any sort of indemnity. [765] It does not directly involve the relatives of the spouses; it involves them only in case of the death of one spouse, for the surviving spouse must /138/ put up with the subservience [613] of mourning. It is principally for this reason that a marriage must be officially known by both lineages, and that a divorce must be proclaimed without delay.

582 613 614 Exogamy. Marriage is forbidden between persons of the same lineage. In expressing this prohibition the Refugee Blacks employ the word bee (lineage in the restricted sense) and not the word lo.

613 As we have seen in studying the situation of the various lineages, the various Boni kin groups follow different rules in this regard:

--The Dju lineage, which forms only one single group from the genealogical point of view, does not allow marriage between its members;

/138 cont./

613 --The Lapé lineage is divided into two groups from the
•614 genealogical point of view, but marriage between these two fractions remains prohibited. The law of exogamy is rigorously respected within this group;

--The Kotika lineage, which tends by forgetfulness of the genealogy to split into three fractions, tolerates union between members of different fractions; in 1958 there were seven cases of this. On the contrary, union is not allowed between members of the same fraction;

--The Dipélu I lineage, whose genealogy is completely known, does not allow marriage between its members, although for several generations it has been cut into two distinct social units, L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages, entirely separated geographically and each possessing its own head;

--It is the same for Dipélu II, but marriage is permitted between Dipélu I and Dipélu II;

--The Papaïston lineage allows the possibility of union between the principal fraction and the small Papaïston 2 fraction. But there is no marriage between members of the principal fraction;

613 --The Awara Bakka lineage on the contrary tolerates
614 unions not only between the members of its three fractions but
588 also recently within the principal fraction:

○Abenkina (Aw.B.1, F21) and △Boofo (Aw.B.1, E31)
○Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30) and △Pitipiti (Aw.B.1, F3).

This situation is an object of scandal to the other groups, and it does not seem that we are present here at the beginning of a general transformation.

613 It is to be noted that the possibility of marriage is allowed
614 between the members of groups presumed to be of the same origin but separated for a long time, like Dipélu I and Dipélu II.

/138 cont./

613 614 In general, one can say that the law of exogamy is maintained firmly within the fractions which know completely their genealogy. Union between classificatory "brothers" and "sisters" belonging to different fractions remains always prohibited in principle, but as for all the institutions of the Refugee Blacks, the prohibition ceases to be observed if fear of suprahuman sanctions weaken. /139/

This is what explains the difference in attitude among the lineages. In the Awara Bakka lineage, people do not remember that marriages between fractions may have been followed by maladies or misfortunes, and for this reason they are no longer feared. [784]

In the Kotika lineage it was the same, but an event which took place in 1958 threw consternation. A young woman, Awini (K1, E37, Boniville), died suddenly, and divination showed that she had been struck down by the kunu for having married her classificatory brother Sintamann (K3, E145, Boniville). However, they belonged to two different fractions and their common relationship was the farthest removed possible in the lineage (tenth-degree relatives). [789] [784] [761]

684 688 784 Pikadu. The offense against exogamy, pikadu (1), incest in the broad sense, is considered an offense against society and against religious law; it exposes the lineage to the vengeance of the gods who exercise the kunu on it. But in the thought of the Refugee Blacks, if incest unleashes the functioning of existing kunu, it does not create new ones. What has been written on this subject by several authors seems inexact to us, at least for the Boni. [114] In the example put forth above Awini's death was attributed to the kunu brought to bear for a long time by the yɔ́ka of a man assassinated in former times by a member of the lineage. [761]

1. This word appears to come from the Portuguese pecado, sin.

/225 cont./

784 613 780 562 One sees from this example how the influence of women, exerted in arbitrary fashion, in a domain placed outside of custom and ordinary social life, weighs on the life of the group.

Kunu of the Dipélu lineage. The situation of the Dipélu lineage with respect to the kunu is particularly interesting. Although split for perhaps 100 years into two separate groups, Dipélu I (L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu villages) and Dipélu II (Kormotibo and Asisi-Dip. II villages), this group still constitutes an undivided unit with respect to the kunu. Neither time nor [1184] distance (it takes more than a week of traveling to make the round trip between L'Enfant Perdu and Apatu) has been able to break it up. The Apatu people come very often (at least some [955] of them) to be present at the collective prayers which take place at L'Enfant Perdu to appease a kunu in order to cure a sick person.

784 614 774 [787] The oldest kunu ("since Africa") is that of a Papa gadu god whose bearer was ○ Dika (Dip. I, D10, † 1951) and which passed after her death into ○ Péechina (Dip. I, E42, L'Enfant Perdu village). This kunu strikes indiscriminately the people of L'Enfant Perdu, Apatu, Kormotibo, Asisi-Dip. II, and the Dipélu fraction residing in Boniville. To it, these past years, [1161] have been attributed the death of ○ Way (Dip. I, E6, living [1153] in Boniville), the illness of △ Akwali (Dip. II, F7, Kormotibo village) and of ○ Bongo (same village).

784 775 614 [1183] Another very old kunu is the one exercised by the yɔrka of a Surinam Creole who had settled with the Dipélu people a very long time ago. He was suspected of sorcery and killed. Since then his yɔrka comes back regularly to exterminate the Dipélu.

/225 cont./

784 Having no known lineage (his family, if he had any, was
778 in Surinam), it had taken people of the Dipélu lineage as
614 bearers. The last was △ Denis †in 1938. Since Denis'
787 death, it no longer has a bearer. The questioning of the dead reveals that they died by its kunu. The members of the two
[782] fractions of the lineage meet together (at least two or three members of each village come) to supplicate it.

784 A third kunu, very interesting in origin and supposed
614 action, /226/ in 1957 was borne by Kwau (Dip. I, E1, Kotika village). It results from the killing of an anaconda snake by Apatu † (Dip. I, C1), companion of the explorer Crevaux when he was traveling to /in/ Brazil. Upon contact with Europeans Apatu had become a freethinker and was no longer
[153] observing the laws of his people. Among the later victims of
[155] this kunu was counted Kwamî (Dip. II, F4, Kormotibo village) who, gravely ill, had had to go to L'Enfant Perdu where the
[161] god had been invoked for him and offerings made. The death of Manga (Dip. I, E5, Boniville, † about 1930) was particularly attributed to it.

No other kunu has revealed itself in Apatu village since its founding in 1882.

784 A fourth kunu concerning all the Dipélu has as bearers
614 women of the Dipélu II group. It results from the inadvertent
776 murder of a Papa gadu whose bearer was a dagowe snake killed
787 in the course of the nivrée /fishing/ of a pool by Akonté
562 † (Dip. II, B1), transmitted to Kondo †, then to Alama (Dip. II, E1).

Since then Papa gadu have revealed themselves in ○ Apaïta (Dip. II, F9, Kormotibo village) and in ○ Kaaïa (Dip. II, G28, Asisi-Dip. II village). They declared themselves to be the descendants of the first and to come in support of it.

/226 cont./

784 182 Finally, a fifth kunu is threatening to show itself. This is a remarkable affair which clarifies at the same time the legal and religious conceptions of the Refugee Blacks.

672 About 1918, a stupid accident which happened at Dagouédé (gun which went off by itself at the moment when it was being stowed in a boat) caused the death of a girl, Santonia, daughter of Kuluba (Aw.B.1). The unwitting perpetrator of the accident was Kwau (Dip. I. Apatu village). [692] There were people in the Awara Bakka lineage who accused him of having done it on purpose, but the grand man judged that he was innocent and the affair was shelved.

784 614 795 787 Now in April, 1957, Kiboya (Dip. II), a young woman of 25, was attacked by a fit of possession. It was Santonia's yaka which was supposed to reveal itself in her. It declared that it was going to exercise a kunu on Dipélu. It was not claiming that Kwau had killed her on purpose and even asked the Awara Bakka not to make reprisals.

628 614 Nevertheless, full of fury, a party of Awara Bakka went the next day to attack the village of L'Enfant Perdu, demolishing a certain number of huts and pursuing the inhabitants, some of whom took refuge in the water and others in the bush. There were, however, no serious blows.

The next day they went to attack Kormotibo in the same way. It is to be noted that only after that did they think of blaming Kwau, who was then living at Wacapou. But the grand man had intervened in the meantime to re-establish peace.

In both cases the façades of several shacks were smashed and two men, Bonana and Amatodja, who had run less fast than the others, were struck symbolically.

/226 cont./

628 The members of the Dipélu lineage did not believe a
614 word of this affair, convinced that Kiboya, a proud and scheming
784 woman, had pretended the gita to make herself interesting.
787 Nevertheless, to bring back peace, they decided to go to Asisi
156 and to ask pardon in front of the fraga tiki, pouring tafia,
769 asking the ancestors not to take vengeance, the living being
778 reconciled.

784 /227/ (Note that in this affair, the yɔrka manifests itself in a
614 member of the lineage on which it exercises the kunu.)
795

784 Kunu of the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka lineage
614 does not form a unit with respect to the kunu, and the situation
613 of its fractions is particularly interesting. This lineage includes:

--A principal fraction (Aw.B.1);

--A fraction whose kinship ties with the first are forgotten (Aw.B.2), whose position with respect to the kunu we have not been able to define.

--Finally, a group descended from Anèta, Djuka woman, wife of Péèyon † (Aw.B.1) settled in Asisi with her descendants in uterine line. We have called this group Aw.B.3. It has a separate kunu originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki where Anèta came from.

784 The Awara Bakka I, all living in Asisi village, had to
787 our knowledge three kunu in 1957:
796
613 --One exercised by a Papa gadu god, borne up to 1957
428 by O Kuluba (Aw.B.1, D1). At her death in April, 1957, she bequeathed it, contrary to custom, to a person of another fraction, Summa (Aw.B.3). But the god did not ratify this legacy and, in January, 1958; it manifested itself in Oléna (Aw.B.1, F52), thus remaining in the same lineage;

/227 cont./

784 --A second, very old kunu is exercised by a yɔrka of the
785 Dipélu II lo, Gy..., dead so long that he cannot be placed on
787 the genealogical table; it, too, had as bearer a member of the
613 lineage on which it was exercising the kunu, ○ Akumuyé
● 614 (Aw.B.1, D17) † 1957.

Thus the Awara Bakka and Dipélu lineages exercise the kunu reciprocally one against the other;

784 --A third kunu of recent origin is exercised by a Papa
786 gadu god which had as bearer in 1957 ○ Irma (Aw.B.1, E37).
613 It results from the inadvertent killing of a Dagowe /sic/ snake
[789] by △ Takwa, Irma's brother. At the end of 1957 this kunu
[953] had yet brought on only illnesses of such a kind that people could still hope to exorcise it.

784 The Aw.B.3 group has a special kunu of its own and
613 considers itself out of reach of the kunu of the Aw.B.1.

Anèta, originating in the Djuka village of Tabiki, is subject to the kunu of that lineage as are all her descendants in
[782] uterine line. On occasion of serious illnesses the latter have sometimes had to go to Tabiki village to supplicate the kunu.

[786] This kunu is the one of a god borne by Akanté, Anèta's
[787] daughter. In September, 1956, Summa, Akanté's daughter,
[782] was sick. The god revealed that this was its doing. It was supplicated (the other fractions joined the group) and she then got well.

613 Kunu of the Afi lineage. The descendants of Afi † (woman
621 coming from the tribe of the Bakabuchi of Surinam) live for the most part in Asisi in close symbiosis with the /228/ Awara Bakka lineage. They are in a situation analogous to that of Anèta's descendants (Aw.B.3) but, perhaps by the simple fact of their number, they form a more individualized unit.

/228 cont./

784 613 786 787 They are the object of three kunu:

--One exercised by a Papa gadu god whose bearer up into 1956 was Kotoïda († Oct. 1956), who bequeathed it to ○ Mani (Afi lineage, d12).

784 785 613 --The other exercised by a yɔrka of the Lapé lineage. This kunu dates from about 60 years ago; Alémin (Afi lineage, b3, Kormotibo village), 80 years old in 1957, had when he was young cut a clearing in a place which was found to be an old abandoned Boni cemetery (opposite Maripasoula). Some [787] time afterward, a yɔrka revealed itself in a woman of the Lapé lineage, saying that it was exercising a kunu against the family of the sacrilegious person.

[761] It is to this yɔrka, whose bearer is M... (L2, Boniville), that the death of Kotoïda in October, 1956 is especially attributed.

--A third kunu is exercised by A..., of the Papaïston 2 [684] lineage. A... had committed pikadu. Surprised by Alémin (Afi lineage), he had paid the latter to obtain his silence. [762] But Alémin had talked. Dishonored, A... committed suicide with a gunshot; some time afterward his yɔrka revealed itself in Alémin; it exercises a kunu on this lineage.

613 614 784 Situation of the other lineages with respect to the kunu. The Papaïston lineage is divided into two groups: Papaïston 1 (the principal one) and Papaïston 2, of which there remain only three living members: two women and one young man. This remainder of a lineage continues to bear its own kunu, which is unique and separate from that of the principal group.

The principal group forms a unit with respect to the kunu.

The Lapé lineage, cut from the point of view of genealogy into two pieces, forms a unit with respect to the kunu. We [114] have been able to collect only fragmentary information on the various kunu of this village.

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A (p. 576)
B (p. 577)
C (p. 578)
D (p. 579)

Chart of Positions of End Map /facing p. 576/

6:Hurault--576. K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

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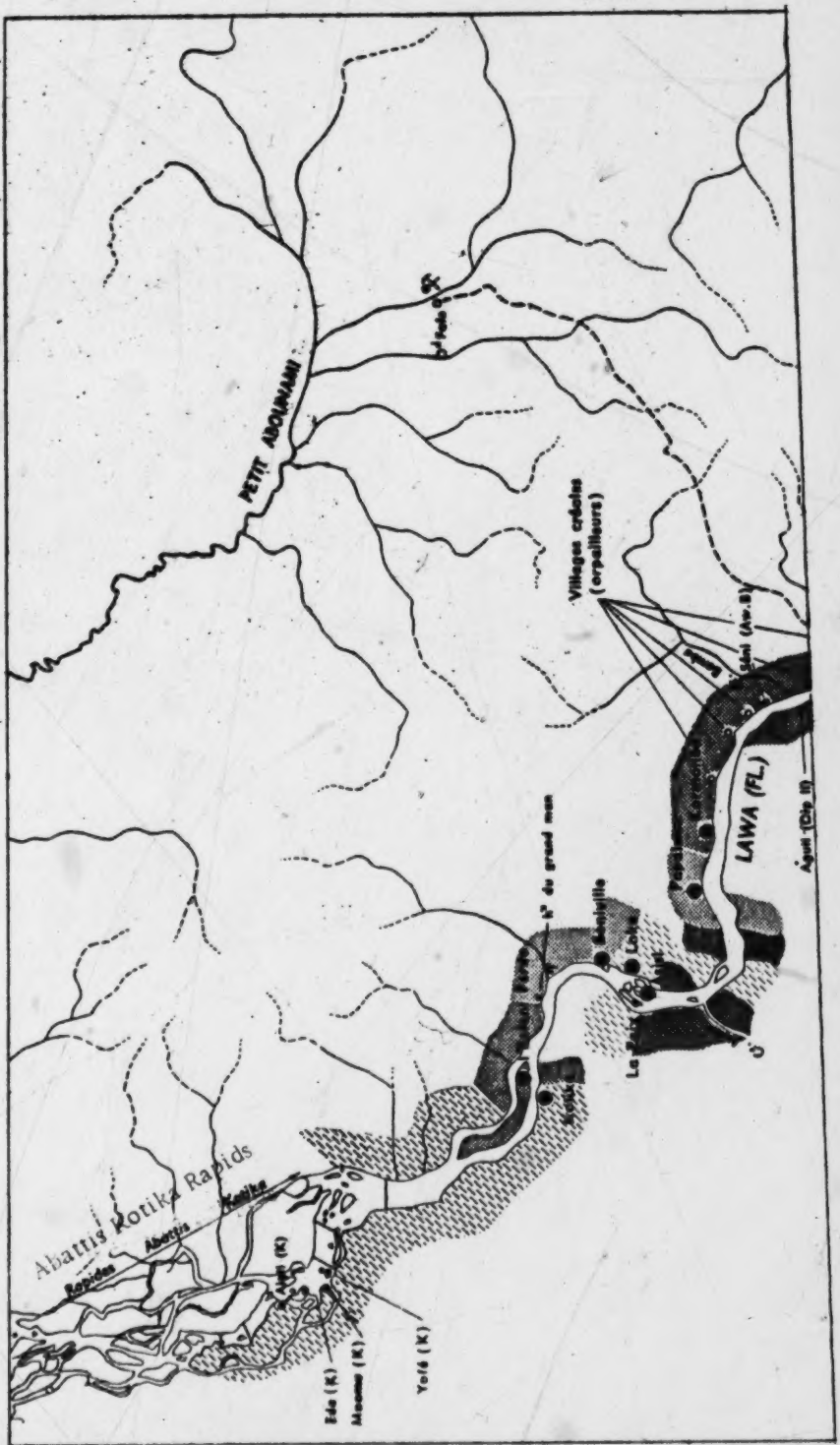

End Map - A

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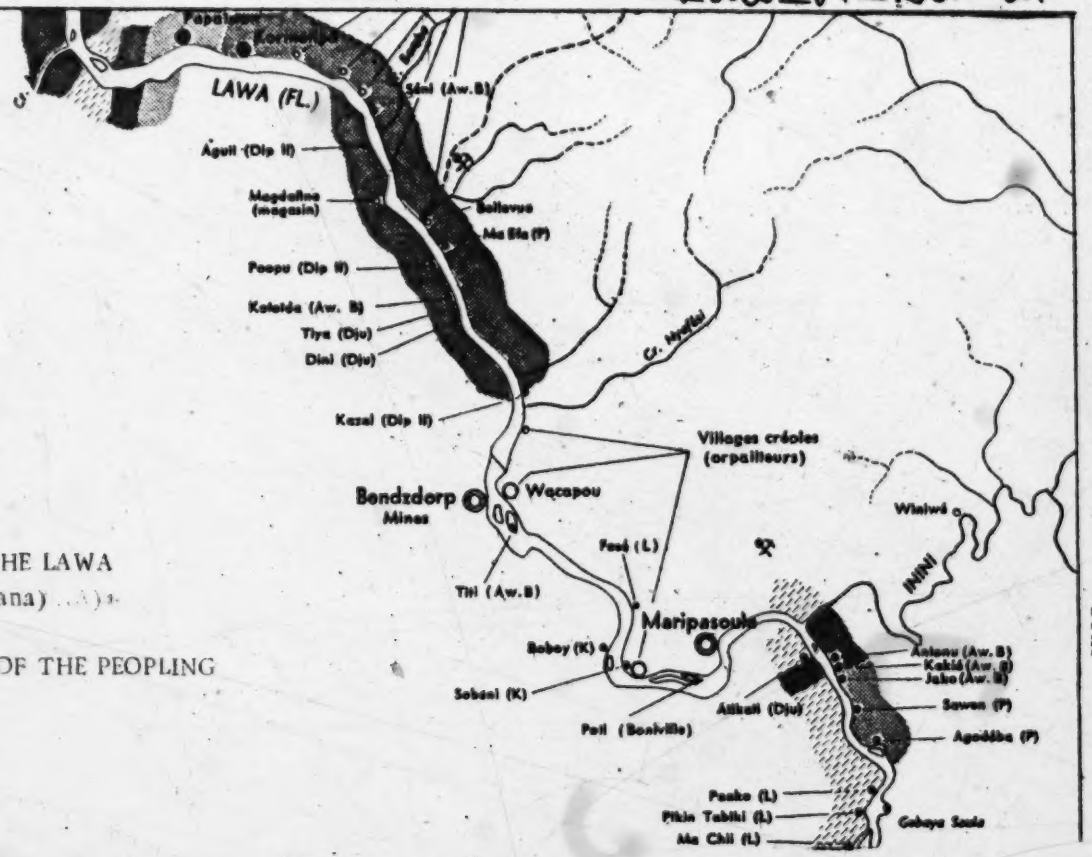
6:Hurault--577 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

End Map - B

COURSE OF THE LAWA
(French Guiana) ...)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLING



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6:Hurault-- 578 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

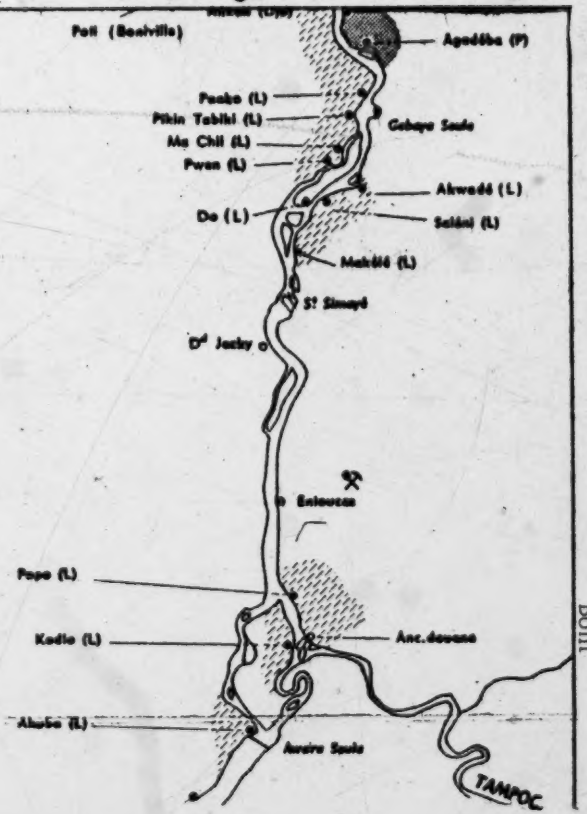
E - Map 1 Ent

Villages and Farming Habitations
in 1958

- ● Boni residence villages
- • Boni farming habitations
- o Creole villages
- O European establishments
- • Creole habitations
- ⚒ Small gold workings
- • Indian villages

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

- (K) Kotika lo
- (Dip) Dipélu lo
- (D) Dikan lo
- (L) Lapé lo
- (Dju) Dju lo



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6:Hurault--573 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Lands belonging to the Boni lineages

(D) Dikan lo

(L) Lapé lo

(Dju) Dju lo

(Aw.B.) Awara Bakka lo

(P) Papaïston lo

Scale 1/200.000

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Km.

Kadio (L)

Abaka (L)

Awara Saka

Asc. Awaras

TAMPOC

LITANI

Mauli (D)

Indians Guyana

Tolinga (Papaïston)

Grand Kaubi Saka

Petite Saut Saka

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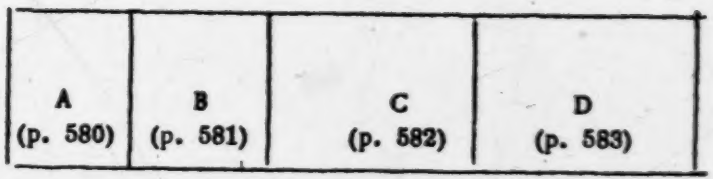

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

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Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[End Plate - A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS Boni

Scale 1/

[End Plate - B]

6:Huzault--582 K-S (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni:

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Scale 1:20000

[End Plate-C]

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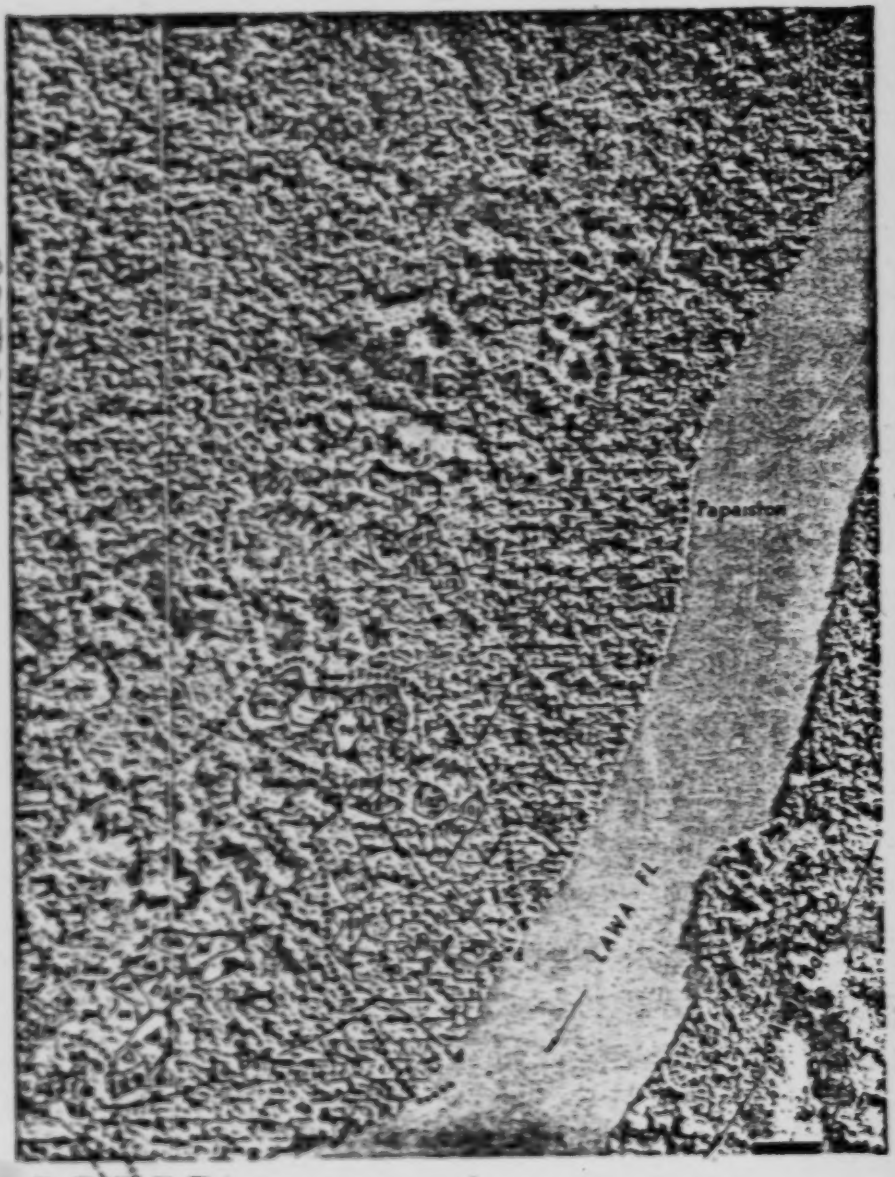

Agoué Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]